

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 BONN 06444 01 OF 03 042102 Z

62

ACTION EUR-10

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ADP-00 IO-03 PM-03 L-02 NSC-10 NSCE-00

CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 RSC-01 SAJ-01 TRSE-00 ACDA-10

MBFR-02 NEA-06 PRS-01 USIA-04 AEC-05 OMB-01 RSR-01

/085 W

----- 110070

P R 042042 Z MAY 73

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4842

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USNMR SHAPE BRUSSELS

USDOCOSOUTH NAPLES

USLOSACLANT NORVA

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 03 BONN 06444

LIMDIS

MOSCOW ALSO FOR KISSINGER PARTY; SHAPE FOR INTAF; VIENNA

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 BONN 06444 01 OF 03 042102 Z

FOR MBFR DEL; HELSINKI FOR MPT DEL

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, GW, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: INITIAL FRG REACTION TO " US APPROACH TO
MBFR" PAPER.

REF: A. USNATO 2129; B. USNATO 2127

SUMMARY: BASED ON FIRST CAREFUL READING, FRG DISARMAMENT COMMISSIONER ROTH TERMED US PAPER VERY COMPREHENSIVE AND FLEXIBLE. HE SAID CHANCELLOR HAD ENDORSED US (AND FONOFF) PREFERENCE FOR INITIAL MBFR REDUCTIONS OF STATIONED FORCES, ADDED THAT FRG EXPECTED MBFR AGREEMENT(S) WOULD BORROW FROM ALL THREE PROPOSED US MODELS AND SAID ACCOMPLISHMENT OF BALANCED PERCENTAGE REDUCTIONS WOULD BE TOUGH. ROTH COMMENTED FAVORABLY ON US PAPER'S TREATMENT OF CONSTRAINTS AND AREA AND NOTED US OPPOSITION TO FLA WAS TIED TO FLA EARLIER THAN REDUCTION AGREEMENT. HE SAID BONN SAW MBFR AS PART OF TRIPARTITE ALLIED POLITICAL/ MILITARY AGENDA, WHICH ALSO WOULD INCLUDE BASIC STRATEGIC QUESTIONS REFERRED TO IN APRIL 23 KISSINGER SPEECH AND IMPROVEMENT AND RATIONALIZATION OF ALLIED FORCES. ROTH INQUIRED CONCERNING CHARACTER OF US PROPOSAL TO DEFINE SOUND DEFENSE POLICY IN CONTEXT OF ALLIED MBFR CONSULTATIONS. ROTH SAID INITIAL EMPHASIS OF ALLIED WORK SHOULD BE ON SHORT BASIC MBFR GUIDELINES PAPER TO BE APPROVED BY MINISTERS AT COPENHAGEN. ROTH PREDICTED BUSY SUMMER AHEAD WITH CONCENTRATION ALSO ON DEVELOPMENT OF TACTICAL NEGOTIATION POSITIONS AND LIKELY SOVIET REACTIONS. END SUMMARY.

1. DURING MAY 3 MEETING WITH EMBOFF, AMBASSADOR ROTH PROVIDED HIS INITIAL REACTION TO " US APPROACH TO MBFR" PAPER, WHICH HE SAID IS VERY FLEXIBLE AND IMPRESSIVELY COMPREHENSIVE. ROTH SAID THE US STATEMENT OF DESIRABLE OUTCOMES-- WHICH FRG WOULD ACCORD STRICT CONFIDENTIALITY-- PROVIDED A VERY GOOD BASIS FOR DEVELOPMENT OF TACTICAL NEGOTIATION POSITIONS, WHICH ALSO MUST FACTOR IN LIKELY SOVIET REACTIONS. IN ROTH'S VIEW, THIS PROBABLY MEANT
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 BONN 06444 01 OF 03 042102 Z

A " TOUGH ALLIED TIMETABLE" AHEAD, BUT ROTH SAID THE IMPORTANT THING IS THAT THE US PAPER IS NOW BEFORE US AND WE CAN GET TO WORK.

2. ROTH SAID THE INITIAL ALLIED EFFORT SHOULD BE TO DEVELOP A SHORT BASIC MBFR GUIDELINES PAPER FOR APPROVAL BY MINISTERS JUNE 14-15 IN COPENHAGEN. HE ADDED THAT FRG ALREADY WORKING ON SUCH A PAPER, WHICH WOULD

INCLUDE REFERENCES TO MILITARY SECURITY CRITERIA, PHASED APPROACH, INITIAL REDUCTIONS OF STATIONED FORCES AND CONSTRAINTS. WITH MINISTERS SCHEDULED TO MEET IN JUNE IN DPC, NAC, EC POLITICAL COMMITTEE AND PERHAPS CSCE FORA, ROTH SAID HE THOUGHT NATO SHOULD PUSH TO PUT TOGETHER MBFR GUIDELINES PAPER BY THE END OF MAY.

3. STATIONED/ INDIGENOUS FORCES: NOTING CLEAR US WISH THAT INITIAL MBFR REDUCTIONS BE LIMITED TO STATIONED (US/ SOVIET) GROUND FORCES, ROTH SAID CHANCELLOR BRANDT HAD BEFORE MAY 1-2 VISIT TO WASHINGTON EXPRESSED SUPPORT FOR THIS APPROACH AT URGING OF FONMIN SCHEEL. ROTH SAID STATE SECRETARY FRANK ALREADY HAD VOICED APPROBATION OF STATEMENT IN US PAPER THAT " ALLIED REDUCTIONS SHOULD AT LEAST INITIALLY FOCUS ON STATIONED FORCES", SINCE THIS WOULD ACCORD FRG TIME TO RESOLVE ITS FORCE STRUCTURE PROBLEMS WITHOUT ANY SOVIET

SECRET
NMAFVVZCZ

ADP000
SECRET

PAGE 01 BONN 06444 02 OF 03 042103 Z

62
ACTION EUR-10

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ADP-00 IO-03 PM-03 L-02 NSC-10 NSCE-00

CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 RSC-01 SAJ-01 TRSE-00 ACDA-10

MBFR-02 NEA-06 PRS-01 USIA-04 AEC-05 OMB-01 RSR-01

/085 W
----- 110067

P R 042042 Z MAY 73
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4843
SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
INFO USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG
AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
USNMR SHAPE BRUSSELS
USDOCOSOUTH NAPLES
USLOSACLANT NORVA

S E C R E T SECTION 02 OF 03 BONN 06444

LIMDIS

INTERFERENCE AND ALSO WOULD PROVIDE TIME FOR EUROGROUP
SECRET
SECRET

PAGE 02 BONN 06444 02 OF 03 042103 Z

TO CONTINUE EFFORTS AT RATIONALIZATION AND IMPROVEMENT
OF EUROPEAN ALLIED DEFENSE EFFORTS. IN THIS CONNECTION,
ROTH STRESSED BRITISH POSITION THAT ALL FORCES OF EC-9
/ STATES ARE DEPLOYED TO FRG AS " EUROPEAN FORCES" AND ARE
THUS NOT TO BE CONSIDERED STATIONED FORCES.

4. FOR THE ABOVE REASONS, ROTH SAID FRG SUPPORTS EARLY
DISCUSSION OF STATIONED FORCE REDUCTIONS AND ACCOMPANYING
CONSTRAINTS PURSANT TO PRUDENT PHASED APPROACH, LEAVING
DOOR OPEN FOR SUBSEQUENT INDIGENOUS FORCE CUTS. WHILE
NOTING THAT US PAPER NEITHER CLEARLY EXCLUDES NOR FAVORS
INDIGENOUS REDUCTION IN A SUBSEQUENT MBFR PHASE, ROTH
SAID US APPROACH OF HOLDING OPEN THIS POSSIBILITY WOULD
APPEAR TO SATISFY BASIC FRG REQUIREMENTS ON THIS SCORE.
COMMENT: THIS LAST REMARK REPRESENTS A BIT OF A RETREAT
BY ROTH, WHO EARLIER HAD EMPHASIZED WISH TO USE PROSPECT
OF SECOND STAGE INDIGENOUS CUTS AS BAIT TO WIN SUPPORT
OF DEFMIN OFFICIALS AND BUNDESTAG DEPUTIES CRITICAL OF
PURELY STATIONED FORCE REDUCTIONS IN FIRST PHASE OF
MBFR. END COMMENT.
5. REDUCTIONS MODELS: ROTH SAID HE EXPECTED EVENTUAL
MBFR AGREEMENT WOULD DRAW TO SOME EXTENT FROM ALL THREE
PROPOSED US MODELS. ROTH SAID HE FULLY AGREED WITH
AMB RUMSFELD'S MAY 2 NAC STATEMENT (REF A) THAT MIXED
PACKAGE APPROACH ALONE COULD NOT ACCOMMODATE EXISTING
PRESSURES FOR MANPOWER REDUCTIONS AND ASPECTS OF THIS
MODEL COULD BE ADDED TO OTHER OPTIONS. FOR THIS REASON,
ROTH EXPECTS US WOULD FAVOR STARTING WITH MODEL TWO
(PERCENTAGE PARITY APPROACH), PERHAPS SUPPLEMENTED BY
MIXED PACKAGE ELEMENTS IN VIEW OF LIKELY SOVIET DEMANDS
TO REDUCE NUCLEAR WEAPONS, WITH OPTION OF INDIGENOUS
CUTS LEFT OPEN FOR POSSIBLE FUTURE STAGE. ROTH RECALLED
LONG- STANDING GERMAN VIEW THAT REMOVAL OF ONE SOVIET

FIVE DIVISION TANK ARMY IN GDR IN RETURN FOR SOME REDUCTIONS IN US TACNUC WARHEADS AND PERSHING'S WOULD BE GOOD DEAL FOR WEST. (COMMENT: SUCH AN APPROACH ALSO LIKELY TO FIT INTO REPORTED THINKING OF MINISTER EGON BAHR, SEE BONN 5129 EXDIS.) IN ANY CASE, SAID ROTH, US PAPER PROVIDED BASIS FOR SEARCHING ALLIED EXAMINATION OF EXCHANGEABLE BUILDING BLOCKS. PRUDENCE SUGGESTS A SLOW, CAREFUL APPROACH TO ENHANCE CALCULABILITY OF

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 BONN 06444 02 OF 03 042103 Z

EVENTUAL OUTCOMES.

6. CONSTRAINTS: ROTH STRONGLY WELCOMED US POSITIONS ON CONSTRAINTS AND, PARTICULARLY PRINCIPLE THAT " SUCH CONSTRAINTS SHOULD ACCOMPANY ANY INITIAL REDUCTIONS AND PRECEDE ANY INDIGENOUS FORCE REDUCTIONS". HE ALSO APPLAUDED US COMMITMENT TO " EFFORT TO ACHIEVE APPROPRIATE PRE- REDUCTION CONSTRAINTS", NOTING THAT " PRE- REDUCTION CONSTRAINTS" NEED NOT NECESSARILY BE IMPLEMENTED BEFORE REDUCTIONS AGREEMENT. ROTH ALSO STRONGLY ENDORSED RATIONALE BEHIND CONSTRAINTS, AS STATED BY AMB RUMSFELD IN FIFTH PRINCIPLE (REF A). FINALLY, RECALLING ROTH'S RECENT VISIT TO PARIS (BONN 4409), ROTH NOTED THAT GERMANS PREPARING SHORT PAPER ON CONSTRAINTS FOR DISCUSSION DURING EARLY JUNE FRANCO- GERMAN STUDY GROUP MEETING.

7. FORCE LIMITATION AGREEMENT: WHILE RECALLING THAT FRG HAD PROPOSED FLA AS SEPARATE PRE- REDUCTION PHASE IN GERMAN MAY 1971 PAPER, ROTH SAID BONN HAD CONSISTENTLY EMPHASIZED THAT FIVE PHASES WERE INTERCHANGEABLE ACCORDING TO TACTICAL ALLIED REQUIREMENTS. ROTH IS THEREFORE NOT OVERLY DISCONCERTED BY NEGATIVE US POSTURE CONCERNING FLA PRIOR REPEAT PRIOR TO REDUCTIONS; HE PROFFESSES TO BE SATISFIED FROM FIRST LOOK AT US PAPER THAT WASHINGTON HAS OPEN MIND ON POSSIBLE VALUE OF FLA ACCOMPANYING OR SUBSEQUENT TO INITIAL REDUCTIONS OF STATIONED FORCES. ROTH RECALLED, IN THIS CONNECTION, GERMAN PREFERENCE FOR POSSIBLE LIMITED DURATION FLA CONCERNING INDIGENOUS FORCES TO ACCOMPANY INITIAL MBFR CUT OF STATIONED FORCES.

8. AREA: WITH BROAD SMILE, ROTH APPROVINGLY NOTED STATEMENT IN US PAPER THAT AREA SHOULD BE TREATED" IN CONTEXT OF REDUCTION NEGOTIATIONS RATHER THAN IN PRIOR (MIT) NEGOTIATIONS".

9. TRIPARTITE ALLIED AGENDA: ROTH SAID HE PERCEIVED TRIPARTITE ALLIED POLITICAL/ MILITARY AGENDA AH
E E E E E E E

ADP000

SECRET

PAGE 01 BONN 06444 03 OF 03 042116 Z

62

ACTION EUR-10

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ADP-00 IO-03 PM-03 L-02 NSC-10 NSCE-00

CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 RSC-01 SAJ-01 TRSE-00 ACDA-10

MBFR-02 NEA-06 PRS-01 USIA-04 AEC-05 OMB-01 RSR-01

/085 W

----- 110160

P R 042042 Z MAY 73

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4844

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USNMR SHAPE BRUSSELS

USDOCOSOUTH NAPLES

USLOSACLANT NORVA

S E C R E T SECTION 03 OF 03 BONN 06444

LIMDIS

IN CONTINUING PARALLEL PROCESS, WITH RESULTS OF MBFR

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 BONN 06444 03 OF 03 042116 Z

ANALYSES FEEDING BACK INTO STRATEGIC REVIEW AND BOTH IN
THEIR TURN INTER- REACTING WITH ALLIED EXAMINATION OF
NATO AND EUROGROUP DEFENSE EFFORTS.

10. IN SPEAKING OF SECOND TOPIC, ROTH WELCOMED CLEAR STATEMENT IN US PAPER, REITERATED BY AMB RUMSFELD, THAT " WE BELIEVE OUR NATO STRATEGY OF FLEXIBLE RESPONSE AND FORWARD DEFENSE REMAINS SOUND". HE ALSO WELCOMED THE STRONG REAFFIRMATION OF US TROOP COMMITMENT IN THE US PAPER, AND PARTICULARLY IN THE APRIL 23 SPEECHES BY SECRETARY ROGERS AND DR. KISSINGER. BUT ROTH WENT ON TO INQUIRE CONCERNING CHARACTER, TIMING AND RELATIONSHIP (IN US VIEWS) TO MBFR OF UPCOMING US PROPOSALS CONCERNING " SOUND DEFENSE POSTURE", WHICH US PAPER SAYS (AT PAGE 2) WILL BE PRESENTED SOON IN APPROPRIATE NATO FORUM.

11. RECALLING HIS EARLIER COMMENTS ON MBFR AND ALLIED DEFENSE DOCTRINE (BONN 4553 NOTAL), ROTH SAID HE SHARED VIEW EXPRESSED IN APRIL 23 KISSINGER SPEECH THAT " RADICALLY DIFFERENT STRATEGIC CONDITIONS" REQUIRED, PARALLEL TO MBFR AND NATO/ EUROGROUP DEFENSE DEBATES, CONTINUED REASSESSMENT OF STRATEGIC ISSUES TO ASSURE WHAT DR. KISSINGER TERMED " CREDIBLE, SUBSTANTIAL AND RATIONAL POSTURE OF DEFENSE". THIS REVIEW, PREMISED BY BASIC CONCEPT OF MC 14/3, SHOULD IN ROTH' S VIEW BE DIRECTED AT DETERMINING " HOW MUCH IS ENOUGH" AND WHAT MIX OF CONVENTIONAL/ TACTICAL/ STRATEGIC -- COMBAT/ SUPPORT -- AIR/ GROUND/ SEA FORCES IN BEST INTERESTS OF ALLIANCE. ANSWERS TO THESE QUESTIONS COULD CONSIDERABLY ENHANCE FUND OF INTELLIGENCE WHICH WILL ACCOMPANY ALLIES INTO SUBSTANTIVE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS AHEAD.

12. COMMENT: IT SHOULD BE EMPHASIZED THAT ABOVE REPORT REPRESENTS ONLY INITIAL AND TENTATIVE REACTIONS TO US PAPER BY FRG DISARMAMENT COMMISSIONER, WHO IS MOST SENIOR AND INFLUENTIAL WORKING LEVEL OFFICIAL IN BONN ON MBFR AND DISARMAMENT ISSUES. BUT VIEWS REPORTED ABOVE APPEAR TO SQUARE WITH FRG INTERNAL POSITIONS DEVELOPED OVER LAST YEAR OR SO (SEE, FOR EXAMPLE, BONN 168. THE GERMANS ARE LIKELY TO RAISE NUMEROUS
SECRET
SECRET

PAGE 03 BONN 06444 03 OF 03 042116 Z

QUESTIONS ON MBFR PAPER IN COMING MEETINGS WITH US AND OTHER ALLIED OFFICIALS; QUESTIONS RAISED BILATERALLY HERE WILL OF COURSE BE REPORTED TO WASHINGTON. AND FRG DOUBTLESS WILL RAISE SEVERAL QUESTIONS CONCERNING FIGURES USED IN US PAPER AND PROSPECTS FOR SOVIET ACCEPTANCE OF BALANCED REDUCTIONS. FINALLY, GERMANS WILL PUSH HARD FOR INITIAL GUIDELINES PAPER TO BE APPROVED AT JUNE NATO MINISTERIAL.

13. IT IS OUR TENTATIVE IMPRESSION THAT ARRIVAL OF US PAPER HAS HAD SALUTORY INITIAL EFFECT. GERMANS

ARE DIGGING IN ON DETAILS AND LOOKING FORWARD TO UPCOMING
ALLIED DISCUSSIONS. BASED ON ROTH' S VIEWS REPORTED
ABOVE, FRG SHOULD BE ABLE, BY AND LARGE, TO COOPERATE
CLOSELY WITH US ON MOST SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES AHEAD, WHILE
JOINING BRITISH AND OTHER WEST EUROPEAN ALLIES IN
VIGOROUSLY DEFENDING POSITIONS OF PARTICULAR NATIONAL
OR EUROPEAN INTEREST.
CASH

SECRET
NMAFVVZCZ

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** LIMDIS
*** Current Classification *** SECRET

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: GW
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 04 MAY 1973
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: boyleja
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973BONN06444
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GDS
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: BONN
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19730535/aaaahoio.tel
Line Count: 395
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 8
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Reference: A.USNATO 2129, B.USNATO 2127
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: boyleja
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 08 AUG 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <08-Aug-2001 by shawdg>; APPROVED <10-Sep-2001 by boyleja>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: <DBA CORRECTED> mcm 971121
Subject: MBFR: INITIAL FRG REACTION TO " US APPROACH TO MBFR" PAPER.
TAGS: PARM, NATO
To: ANKARA
ATHENS
BRUSSELS
COPENHAGEN
EUR
NATO BRUSSELS
SECSTATE WASHDC

THE HAGUE

WASHDC

Type: TE

Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005